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Role theorists maintain that good same-sex parent models are necessary for children to develop knowledge of appropriate sex roles. Cognitive theorists say that development of such knowledge depends on contact with good models, but models need not be parents. In the first phase of the study, children's knowledge of adult sex roles was determined from interviews with 213 father-absent or father-present Negro and white Head Start 4- and 5-year olds. Questions asked which sex performs certain functions, what the child would like in a "pretend" family, and who fulfills certain roles in his own family. The outstanding result was the general lack of difference between the father-absent and father-present children in preceptions of adult roles. Also indicated were (1) father-absent Negro girls minimized the male role within (but not outside) the family, and (2) Negro boys see men as responsible family participants whether or not a father is present. In the second phase of the study, samples from white and black middle income, father-present preschoolers were compared with lower class father-present children of the role study, a total sample of 105 children. Results showed no class differences in most cases and that children develop knowledge of appropriate adult sex roles despite contradictions in their own families. (DO)

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CHILDREN'S PERCEPTIONS OF ADULT ROLES AS AFFECTED BY CLASS, FATHER-ABSENCE AND RACE[1]

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A number of studies have focused on pre-school children's perceptions of the characteristics of adult men and women (Kagan, 1956; Emmerich, 1959; Kagan & Lemkin, 1958), but there has been little research using low income children and comparing the perceptions of those from father-absent and father-present homes. Such research has both theoretical and policy implications.

To take the theory implications first, role theorists argue that the young child's interaction with adults of the same sex in the family is essential to his adoption of appropriate sex roles (Brim, 1960). The adults can serve as behavioral models for the child to imitate. They also through their sanctioning behavior can encourage the child to internalize

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appropriate sex role expectations (Hill, 1967). According to this argument, father-absence without the presence of other male models will lead to a learning deficit at worst, or a learning lag at best for boys, until the child has the opportunity to interact at some length with a person of the same sex. Mothers, because of lack of knowledge, cannot transmit in their role expectations of boys the subtle nuances of masculine behavior. Their own sex role behaviors, moreover, are inappropriate for boys to imitate. Girls too are affected by father absence. Without him, they lack a powerful cross-sex source of sex role sanctions and expectations. In addition, their mothers who through force of circumstances must play paternal roles may present a distorted picture of adult role behavior to daughters.

Socialization into adult sex roles to cognitive theorists, however, is less dependent upon the child's interaction with persons of the appropriate sex within the context of the family. Sex identity comes from the child's perceptions of gross bodily differences of individuals who may or may not be playing family roles. Once the child becomes aware of sex differences and to which sex category he belongs, the child wants to acquire the appropriate sex behavior, looks for such behavior and finds such behavior rewarding (Kohlberg, 1966). His learning is not so dependent upon parents as sex role models or sanctioners of sex role behavior as it is for the role theorists. Father absence, consequently, is not such a problem for the learning of adult sex roles.

The research that has been done does not provide clear-cut answers to the question raised by the cognitive theorists as to the importance of father presence. Most studies center on the boy's sex-role adoption. One study's findings suggest that there may be a developmental sequence

in sex-role socialization with father-absence during the pre-school years when children's contacts are largely limited to the family being an important period. Pre-adolescent boys whose fathers had left home in the first four years of life were less aggressive, had more feminine preferences and avoided competitive games (Hetherington, 1966). Other studies have shown father absence to be associated with other forms of inappropriate sex-role behavior in boys. They include mother dependence, exaggerated masculinity difficulty in getting along with peers (Lynn & Sawrey, 1959), field dependence (Barclay & Cusumano, 1967) and perception of a non-aggressive and warm father (Bach, 1946).

But father-absence is also of interest to policy makers as well as theorists. A sizable proportion of poor children grow up in families without stable father figures. Based on Office of Economic Opportunity-Census figures for 1966, the proportion of nonwhite poor children without fathers ranged from 14 percent in rural farm areas to 54 percent in the largest Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. Among poor white children, the comparable percentages went from 3 percent to 35 percent. The interest in father-absence stems from such findings as disproportionate arrest rates among low income youths from broken homes (Glueck & Glueck, 1950), poorer academic achievement (Deutsch & Brown, 1964), and marital failure (Pettigrew, 1964). Because of such findings, policy makers have sought to encourage intact families through removing restrictions on welfare payments to families where an able-bodied husband-father is present and through encouraging men to serve as teachers and presumably role models in Head Start and primary school programs.

The research evidence, however, suffers from methodological weaknesses that cast doubt on the findings (Herzog & Sudia, 1968). Too often

such factors as socioeconomic status, length of father absence, presence of father substitutes and mothers' feelings about the absent father are not controlled. Studies are also one-time affairs, lacking replication. Moreover, the intervening process whereby father-absence is associated with effects in children is seldom demonstrated empirically.

The present study is an attempt to discover if pre-school children whose fathers have been absent for at least a year do have a lesser knowledge of adult sex roles. Previous research has shown that five and six year olds from complete families are aware of adult sex differences in social and physical power (Kagan & Lemkin, 1960) as well as money earning (Kohlberg, 1967). If father-presence is essential to adoption of appropriate sex-role behaviors, it may be because of the knowledge he provides about these behaviors. His absence, therefore, should be reflected in his children's lesser knowledge of adult sex roles. Since the study deals with low income children, it taps the group most vulnerable to father-absence and so of most concern to policy makers. Negro and white children were purposefully included in the study to determine if race influences the effect of father-absence on perceptions of adult roles. Finally, in order to focus on an age when the child is less able to supplement his knowledge by turning to extra-familial sources, the sample was restricted to four and five year olds. If knowledge differences do not appear in this age group, the finding would lend support to the argument that such learning is not dependent on family role models.

Several hypotheses guided the research. If differences in perceptions of adult roles do exist between father-absent and father-present children, they should appear with respect to the wage earner role. The low income

mother bears the earner responsibility unless she is on welfare. The latter was true of only a minority of cases in the study sample (Table 1). Father-absent children, consequently, may perceive men less often as wage earners. It is also suggested by the Bach study (1946) that father-absent children would see males in parental roles less often as disciplinarians and rule givers and more often as nurturant, affection givers. To encompass a wide range of adult roles, questions were also designed to get at the teacher-socializer role, the companion role, and the decision maker and purchaser roles. Lack of experience with fathers and subsequent romanticizing of their qualities by father-absent children suggests that they would see the companion role as more often performed by fathers. The other roles, like the wage earner roles, they would view as women's roles. The characteristics of competence, resource possession and appearance were also covered in questions. It was hypothesized that father-absent children would more often perceive women rather than men as possessing these characteristics.

Samples and Procedures

The data came from structured interviews. The questions concerned who performed certain behaviors or possessed particular resources. The three sections dealt first with comparisons between men and women. The child then indicated which member of a pretend family filled the role and finally, he referred to the role performances in his own family. There were nine questions in the first man-woman section, 34 in the second pretend family section, and 12 in the real family comparisons. Questions pertaining to particular roles were separated to avoid set response. To overcome the problem of shyness, or lack of verbal facility, the child could point to a picture. For the first part of the interview, the child chose from drawings of a man and a woman. In the second part the drawings

were of a man, woman, boy, and girl. For the part on the child's own family he gave the names of his family members. The race of the persons in the drawings was the same as that of the child being interviewed. The interview schedule was carefully pretested to insure that the questions were understandable to children with limited vocabularies.

The sample consisted of children drawn from Headstart of low income day care centers. The samples were judiciously selected to provide a range of settings. By this strategy, it was possible to examine whether locations varying as to the number of males in the general environment affected the findings. The Negro boy and girl S's came from small towns in southern Tennessee, Nashville and the county seat and rural area of a delta county in Mississippi. The white children came only from the Tennessee locations, due to their absence in the Headstart program in the Mississippi county. Strenuous attempts were made to determine how long fathers had been absent and to restrict the samples to those S's whose fathers had been absent at least a year. Though this restriction sharply limited the father-absent population, it insured that the fathers of the children in one parent families had been absent at the period when children are developing their notions of adult sex roles as well as for a long enough period for the absence to have had some effect. An attempt also was made not to include children with known father substitutes present. Father-present children for comparison groups were chosen at random from available children at the same centers. Children from Nashville preschools, catering to the middle-class, were interviewed for a second phase of the study.

Negro and white female interviewers were randomly assigned to interview each child. Rapport with the children was good. Just three children could

not be interviewed. One was too sleepy and the other two, both Negroes, appeared to be too shy. (In the last two cases, a Negro and white interviewer were involved.)

Table 1 summarizes important characteristics of the four father-absent father-present race and sex groups. It is apparent that the greatest discrepancy lies in income with father-present children coming from less poverty stricken homes. As would also be expected, differences appear in family size and number of children.

The findings to be reported are based on the results from an item analysis of the three parts of the interview schedule. Because the concept of the various adult roles was poorly reflected in single indicators and would be better served by groupings of behaviors and characteristics, each item was compared with every other item in a particular section. Those items showing a similarity in the pattern of responses and whose content had to do with the same role were placed together. Each subject was given a summary score representing the number of times he answered "father" to the questions included in a particular grouping. The question groupings were done for each race and sex division as the item that fitted together did not always coincide among the divisions.

Analysis of variance was the statistical technique used. Because of the unavoidable smallness of the samples and because possible trends in the findings might otherwise be obscured, results that go beyond the conventional significance level of .05 are reported.

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Findings

Location. To determine what effect variation in the social milieu has on children's perceptions of adult roles, locality differences were examined. Location differences were greatest between Nashville, a city

TABLE 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF FATHER-PRESENT AND FATHER-ABSENT CHILDREN

	Father-Present	Father-Absent
Negro Males		
Median income	2,750	1,490
Median family size	7.5	5.8
Median number of children	5.5	4.2
Father substitutes	-------	1
Mothers on welfare	0	7
Age $\bar{X}$ (years, months)	5.7	5.8
N	34	41
White Males		
Median income	4,090	2,330
Median family size	5.8	5.2
Median number of children	3.8	3.5
Father substitutes	-------	2
Mothers on welfare	0	5
Age $\bar{X}$ (years, months)	5.8	5.9
N	17	19
Negro Females		
Median income	2,270	1,400
Median family size	7.5	6.2
Median number of children	5.8	4.8
Father substitutes	-------	4
Mothers on welfare	1	7
Age $\bar{X}$ (years, months)	5.9	5.8
N	30	39
White Females		
Median income	4,195	2,568
Median family size	5	4.8
Median number of children	3	3.2
Father substitutes	-------	0
Mothers on Welfare	1	1
Age $\bar{X}$ (years, months)	5.9	5.1
N	18	12

TABLE 2

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS GROUPED TOGETHER TO FORM INDICATORS OF ADULT ROLES AND CHARACTERISTICS

Pretend Family Comparisons

1. Who says nice things about the girl?
2. Who does the father love best?
3. Who has the nicest clothes?
4. Who is the best looking?
5. Who tells the girl what to do all the time?
6. Who whips the girl the most?
7. Who watches to see the girl is good?
8. Who is boss in this family?
9. Who buys the T.V.?
10. Who gives the others money?
11. Who buys the food?
12. Who brings home the money?
13. Who is the smartest?
14. Who does the mother love best?
15. Who does things right?
16. Who has a job?
17. Who takes care of the family?
18. Who shows the boy how to do things?
19. Who tells the boy what to do all the time?
20. Who watches to see that the boy is good?
21. Who shows the girl how to do things?
22. Who whips the boy the most?
23. Who is the strongest?

Man-Woman Comparisons

24. Who goes to visit people?
25. Who has the nicest clothes?
26. Who is the best looking?
27. Who does things right?
28. Who is boss?
29. Who has a job?
30. Who is the smartest?
31. Who has money?

Real Family Comparisons

32. Who is boss in your family?
33. Who has a job?
34. Who goes to visit people?
35. Who says nice things to you?
36. Who does your mother love the best?
37. Who is the smartest?
38. Who hips you?
39. Who is the best looking?
40. Who takes care of the family?
41. Who brings home the money?
42. Who is the strongest?

of some 475,000 and rural Mississippi. The latter area is experiencing the flight from the land of the able bodied due to the mechanization of the cotton economy. Men are particularly affected by the lack of jobs in agriculture and an austere state welfare policy. The push to leave, consequently, is great for them. For this reason, there are fewer men in the broader community for father-absent children in the rural area to have contact with than is true of father-absent children in Nashville. If conventional knowledge of adult sex roles is dependent upon the child's observing and interacting with adults, the father-absent, rural child would be less knowledgeable. There were enough black male S's to run a two to two analysis using Nashville-rural Mississippi and father absence-father presence as the main effects.

The same analysis was run for females but due to the small number of female S's in rural Mississippi, the Mississippi county seat town with a population of 26,000 was used for comparison purposes. The differences here in the two communities did not lie in the frequency of contacts with males. The interest in the comparison lies in seeing whether the generally lesser power of blacks in Mississippi is as true in larger communities as well as rural areas.

The father absent-father present results did not differ substantially from those for the total race-sex groups to be reported next. The differences in Negro power in the locations, however, were reflected in the children's perceptions. In both the rural and county seat locations, they saw men in Mississippi as generally less powerful than in Nashville regardless of the family structure of the children. As shown in Table 3 on the questions concerning the pretend family, the male S's on the power-competence indicator (items 8, 13, 14, 15) and the females on power (items

TABLE 3

LOCATION AS RELATED TO NEGRO CHILDREN'S PERCEPTIONS OF ADULT ROLES AND CHARACTERISTICS

Sex	Adult Role or Characteristic	Locality: Nashville $\bar{X}$	Locality: Rural Miss. $\bar{X}$	df	F	P
Males						
	Power-competence[a]	2.514	1.993	1,34	2.435	.12
	Teacher-boys[a]	1.514	.786		4.244	.04
	Location x Father Absence-Presence Appearance[b]				2.836	.10
	Father Absence	1.000	2.000			
	Father Presence	1.333	1.143			
		Nahsville $\bar{X}$	County Seat $\bar{X}$			
Females						
	Power[a]	3.682	2.786	1,4[illegible]	5.586	.02
	Responsible Earner[a]	.545	1.052		2.979	.08
	Location x Father Absence-Presence lower-competence[b]					
	Father Absence	3.091	2.357		2.229	.14
	Father Presence	2.454	2.778			

[a]Pretend family

[b]Man-woman

8-12) less often answered father than did the city S's. (Question items are listed in Table 2). Though they were less apt to perceive their fathers as powerful, the female S's living in the county seat town saw fathers as more apt to be responsible earners (items 15-17) than S's in Nashville.

The two significant interactions occurred on the man-woman comparison items and reflected the Nashville-Mississippi differentials in Negro power. For females, the items had to do with power and competence (items 28-31), with Nashville father-absent S's scoring highest and the Mississippi father absent S's lowest. On items 24-27 concerned with non-instrumental behavior, Mississippi father-absent male S's were highest and Nashville father-absent S's lowest in giving father answers.

Systematic differences among other locations did not appear. For this reason, results to be presented will not be differentiated according to the S's residence.

Father Absence-Father Presence. The differences between father-absent and father-present S's that appeared were primarily within the black groups as shown in Table 4. Father-absent Negro females in their answers concerning a pretend family saw the father as being a less powerful and attractive figure than did the father-present females. The former gave fewer father answers to questions concerning the roles of authority-disciplinarian for girls (items 5-7) the powerful consumer goods purchaser (items 8-12) and the possessor of good looks and clothes (items 2-4). They were not, however, less apt to see the father as being a responsible wage earner or more apt to see him as a nurturant socializer for boys or girls.

TABLE 4

FATHER ABSENCE AND FATHER PRESENCE AS RELATED TO CHILDREN'S PERCEPTIONS OF MALE ADULT ROLES AND CHARACTERISTICS

Race & Sex Group	Adult Role or Characteristic	Father Absence $\bar{X}$	Father Presence $\bar{X}$	df	F	P
Negro Males	Good appearance[a]	1.292	.824	1,74	4.709	.03
	Power-competence[b]	2.365	3.029		3.723	.05
	Expressive leader[b]	.683	.941		1.935	.16
	Responsible earner[b]	1.073	1.588		5.371	.02
White Males	Responsible earner[b]	1.684	3.000	1,34	7.989	.01
Negro Females	Authority-disciplinarian-girls[a]	.641	.967	1,67	2.513	.11
	Powerful purchaser[a]	3.026	3.500		2.195	.13
	Good appearance[a]	.282	.567		3.375	.07
	Responsible earner[b]	1.900	2.867		8.021	.01
	Expressive leader[b]	.385	.733		4.748	.03
	Power[b]	.538	.966		4.281	.03
White Females	Good appearance[a]	1.167	.788	1,29	2.386	.13
	Power-competence[b]	1.250	2.055		3.517	.06
	Expressive leader[b]	.333	.778		2.890	.09
	Responsible earner[b]	1.750	2.889		6.222	.01
Sex X Race X Father Absence-Father Presence						
	Good appearance[a]			1,292	13.055	.001
White Males		.789	1.235			
Negro Males		1.024	.529			
White Females		.833	.444			
Negro Females		.282	.566			

[a]Pretend family

[b]Real family

In the Negro male group, the father-absent boys on the pretend family questions (items 1-4) saw the father as more often having desirable appearance characteristics. Again, there were no differences in perceptions of socializer, responsible wage earner or competent decision maker.

When one looks at the two white groups, the difference that appears is among the female S's. The father-absent S's saw fathers in the pretend family as more often being attractive in appearance and dress (items 1-4). There were no differences among the males.

Three-way analyses were run using sex, race, and father-absence--father-presence as main effects on the responsible earner and appearance indicators of the pretend family questions. (Because of differences in the content of the various item indexes for the race and sex groups it was impossible to run analyses on all the indexes). There was a significant three-way interaction on the appearance indicator (items 2-4) with Negro father-absent females least apt to give father as an answer and white father-present males most apt to answer father. Race x sex was a differentiating factor on the responsible earner role (items 9, 16, 17) with female blacks less apt to mention father on these items.[2]

For all four groups, questions concerning their own families served as a crude test of the validity of the S's answers. All groups except

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[2]The sex x race results on responsible earner (pretend family) are as follows: F 1,202 = 2.219, P .13. White Males 1.993; Negro Males 1.890; White Females 1.986; Negro Females 1.447.

for white males, gave father as an answer less often (P .10) on question clusters concerning the role of responsible earner (items 33, 38, 40--Negroes; 33, 36, 37, 40--Whites), expressive leader (items 34, 35, 39) and power figure (items 32, 36, 37, 41, 42--Negroes; 32, 38, 41, 42--Whites). (The significance level for Negro males was .16 on the questions concerning appearance. White males saw the father as less powerful, P .01 , but there were no other significant differences.)

Discussion

The outstanding result of the study was the general lack of difference between the father-absent and father-present children in their perceptions of adult sex roles. Fathers were not less often seen as wage earners, nor as nurturant affection givers instead of disciplinarians. They were not less often seen as competent decision makers or as powerful figures. These findings were consistent whether the children lived in rural, small city or metropolitan areas and were white or Negro. Thus the results from the carefully drawn low income samples from several southern locations provide little support for the position that conventional sex role assignment is dependent upon both parental positions in a family being occupied. Whether the father-absent children are as familiar with the various behaviors summarized in the role labels is another question.

For both groups, fathers were not generally seen as very active in familial roles aside from the conventional breadwinner, decision-maker roles. This finding at the pre-school level is consistent with the evidence for segregated conjugal role organization in lower-class families (Rainwater, 1965).

The differences that did appear are intriguing. They largely appear in the black female group, the sex and race group that for so long has been the mainstay of the Negro family. The example of a same-sex parent serving as household head seems to minimize the male role within the household though not outside it. These findings suggest that Negro father-absent girls when grown, would find performing family responsibilities alone not inappropriate. Negro boys, in contrast, see men as the responsible family participants whether or not a father is present. The difference is that those without fathers are more apt to see men as attractive displayers of consumer goods, a sex role reversal not uncommon in lower class Negro society. Because of job shortages, men engage in illicit activities and dress in flashy attire while the more steadily employed females in their drab domestic jobs are less able to play a conspicuous consumption role. And other findings indicate how much father-absent, Negro boys would like to have men in their families. They more often than father-present S's give father as first choice ($x^2 = 4.513$, P .10, df 2) when asked who they would like to have in a pretend family.

All in all, however, the results contribute ammunition to those who insist that it is not father-absence itself that affects children. It is rather the train of circumstances triggered by father-absence including lesser income, inadequate supervision and negative role expectations of unhappy women that makes the difference and since these same conditions often exist in father-present, low income families, father-absence does not always prove a differentiating variable.

Class Comparisons

It has been shown that family structure differences centering on father presence or absence in a variety of settings appear to have little

effect on pre-school S's perceptions of who performs adult roles, but what about the variable of social class? Samples from white and black middle income Nashville pre-schools made class comparison possible within each of the father-present race and sex groups from Nashville. (The lack of father-absent S's in the middle income group precluded a family structure comparison). The class groups differed widely on the various indicators used for social ranking purposes. Table 5 shows pertinent characteristics of the samples. Consistent with their income and educational differences, the occupations of the middle class fathers and mothers when employed were at the professional and managerial levels. The lower class fathers and mothers worked primarily at laborer-operative type jobs.

Given the disadvantaged position of the lower-class men, it was hypothesized that their children would be less apt than middle-class children to see men as fulfilling the instrumental roles associated with family head. Lower-class children would, however, be more apt than middle-class children to associate good appearance with men. Conspicuous consumption can be a means whereby the disadvantaged male asserts himself. In contrast, work-worn, lower-class women lack the time and money that middle-class women devote to improving their appearance, a feature which usually is associated with the female sex.

The results showed class to have more relation to female S's adult role perceptions (Table 6) than did the family structure variable. As was true of the latter variable, male S's showed few class differences. The findings for the female S's largely supported the hypotheses. Lower-class black S's saw the fathers in pretend families and men in men-women

TABLE 5

CHARACTERISTICS OF LOWER-CLASS AND MIDDLE-CLASS CHILDREN

	Lower-Class	Middle-Class
Negro Males		
Median income	5000	10,000
Median family size	6	4
Median number of children	4	2
Number of mothers employed	7	7
Median years of education-fathers	11	16.5
Age $\bar{X}$ (years, months)	5.1	5.4
N	9	12
White Males		
Median income	4800	15,000
Median family size	5.5	5
Median number of children	3.5	3
Number of mothers employed	9	9
Median years of education-fathers	10	16
Age $\bar{X}$ (years, months)	5.6	5.9
N	10	23
Negro Females		
Median income	3500	10,000
Median family size	7	4
Median number of children	5	2
Number of mothers employed	6	7
Median years of education-fathers	10	17.5
Age $\bar{X}$ (years, months)	5.9	5.8
N	11	9
White Females		
Median income	5750	15,000
Median family size	5	4
Median number of children	3	2
Number of mothers employed	8	8
Median years of education-fathers	11	16
Age $\bar{X}$ (years, months)	5.9	5.7
N	10	21

TABLE 6

CLASS AS RELATED TO CHILDREN'S PERCEPTIONS OF MALE ADULT ROLES AND CHARACTERISTICS

Race and Sex Group	Adult Role or Characteristic	Middle class $\bar{X}$	Low class $\bar{X}$	df	F	P
Negro Males	Expressive leader[a]	.583	1.000	1,19	2.453	.13
White Males	Responsible earner[b]	3.217	2.500	1,31	4.210	.05
	Power-competence[b]	4.000	3.400		3.472	.07
	Responsible earner[a]	3.043	1.600		29.316	.01
Negro Females	Power-competence[c]	3.444	2.454	1,18	5.151	.03
	Appearance[c]	.667	1.545		2.239	.14
	Authority-disciplinarian (girls)[b]	1.778	.818		4.772	.04
	Expressive (appearance)[b]	.000	.454		3.894	.06
	Responsible earner[a]	1.667	.909		2.446	.13
White Females	Power-competence[c]	3.286	2.600	1,29	2.826	.10
	Appearance[c]	.742	1.500		3.699	.06
	Authority-disciplinarian (boys)[b]	1.095	1.700		2.402	.13
	Expressive (appearance)[b]	.381	.800		2.084	.15
	Expressive leader[a]	.333	.900		5.454	.02
Race x Class (Males)	Responsible earner[b]					
	Whites	3.217	2.500	1,50	3.167	.07
	Negroes	2.917	3.222			
Sex x Race x Class	Responsible Earner[b]			1,97	2.403	.12
	Negro Males	2.083	2.333			
	White Males	2.391	1.800			
	Negro Females	2.000	1.818			
	White Females	1.905	2.000			

[a]Real family

[b]Pretend family

[c]Man-woman

comparisons as more often possessing positive appearance qualities (items 2-4 and 24-27). They, however, were less apt to see their own fathers as responsible earners (items 33, 38, and 40), men as powerful and competent (items 28-31), or pretend fathers as being authoritative disciplinarians of girls (items 5-7). Lower-class white females also perceived men in general (items 24-27) and pretend fathers (items 1-4) as having positive appearance qualities. Their fathers more often occupied the role of expressive leader (items 34, 35, 39). They also saw men as less powerful and competent (items 28-31), but contrary to the Negro S's and contrary to the general hypothesis, saw pretend fathers more often than middle-class S's as rule-setters and disciplinarians for boys (items 19, 20, 22).

The few male differences were also consistent with the hypotheses (Table 6). Lower-class blacks were more apt to see their fathers as expressive leaders (items 34, 35, 39), and lower-class whites less often mentioned their own (items 33, 38, 40) or pretend fathers (items 9, 10, 16, 17) as responsible earners. They also saw the latter as less powerful and competent (items 8, 13, 15, 23). Among the two- and three-way analyses, one interesting result was the class by race interaction within the male group on responsible earner--pretend father (items 9, 10, 16, 17). The lower class, white S's were lowest, but the lower-class, black S's scored highest, contrary to the hypothesis. On the power-competence pretend father characteristics (items 8, 13, 15) the lower class, as was hypothesized, scored lower (1.900 vs. 2.302, $F = 2.973$, df 1,50 P .08). Sex, race and class as main effects, all proved significant on appearance items (items 2-4). The lower-class (.777 vs. .497 P .03), whites (.834 vs. .440 P ,01), and males (.926 vs. .348 P .01), tended more often to

give a father response to these pretend family items. For responsible earner (items 9, 16, 17) the interaction effect showed lower-class white male S's lowest and their middle-class counterparts highest. Finally, males (.863 vs. .412 P .03) within the white group sex and class analysis more often saw pretend fathers as playing the major teacher role for girls (items 5, 7, 21).

Discussion and Conclusions

The class differences that did appear were generally consistent with the hypotheses. Female lower-class S's tended to see fathers as having positive appearance characteristics and being expressive leaders but as also being less powerful and competent. There were few class differences among the males, which along with the father-absent findings, gives support to the cognitive theorists' position. Apparently, a role model within the family is not necessary for the lower-class male pre-schooler to acquire the conventional picture of which sex performs certain adult roles. But the sex of the child does make a difference as the greater tendency of females to perceive fathers as less powerful and better looking indicates. Their personal experience with less adequate fathers has an effect missing among males. They, presumably, having accepted their gender identity, become alert to conventional male roles even when the latter are not performed by males in their families. Thus at an early age, lower-class female S's see males as less apt to play the responsible roles customarily assigned to men. Male S's seem to escape a similar family experience effect though the discrepency between their male role expectations and their fathers' performances may lay the groundwork for later paternal disrespect and conflict.

It is well to note, however, that even among female S's there are no class differences in the majority of cases. Even extreme family differences in income and prestige having grave effects on men's and women's roles performances do not prevent pre-school children from acquiring a knowledge of conventional adult sex roles. Thus as with the father-absent, father-present variable, children's knowledge of stereotyped roles despite blatant contradictions in their own experience is generally not affected.

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